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TORREY'S LETTER TO MARYLAND.

THE following noble address from this imprisoned friend of humanity appears as an advertisement in the *Baltimore Sun* :—

TO THE PUBLIC.—The undersigned, a prisoner in the city jail, in Baltimore, asks your attention to the following statements. If I was as widely known to the good people of this state as I am to the citizens of New England, New York, and several of the western States, it would be of very little importance to me that a class of persons, such as traders in slaves, professional fugitive hunters, and subordinate officials, with a few slave-holders of the violent and fanatical class, should employ the venom of tongues reckless of truth, to assail my character, and endeavour to make Christian men deem me a fit associate for felons, or men of their own grade of society. But to all, save a few college classmates, and a few others whose acquaintance I have in most cases recently formed, I am a stranger. I am imprisoned on charges that render me obnoxious to the displeasure of that class of the people—not very numerous, it is true—who deem their interests involved in the perpetuation of slavery and the slave-trade.

Let me be distinctly understood—I do not ask for any man's sympathy. Did I desire it, a statement of the real facts respecting the charges against me, and the recklessness of my prosecutors could secure it. But my demand is not for the sympathy due to even the most obscure and guilty of our race, but for JUSTICE. The verdicts of the courts of law and equity, some of which, in my case, will not be given, in all likelihood, before February, 1846, will, if they are what I confidently expect, render me but tardy justice. Meanwhile, I have an appeal to make to the men of intelligence of all parties, who are for the GOOD NAME and the PROSPERITY of Maryland, and of our whole country.

First, I have to state a few facts relative to my personal history. I do this with reluctance, and solely because certain persons, to whom allusion has already been made, have employed base means to convey an impression to the religious public, far different from truth.

It is not, then, a matter of boasting, but of simple justice, for me to state, that my family, education, station, employments, and character, have ever placed me in the highest and purest class of society. Deprived of both parents before I was four years of age, I was educated by my mother's father, the late Hon. Charles Turner, of Scituate, Plymouth county, Mass., who will be remembered by the older politicians of this State, as one of the few republican members of Congress in 1812-14, who dared to hold fast their integrity, in the face of a frowning constituency, and vote for a declaration of war. From him—a soldier under Washington when Boston was occupied by the British—I learned to hate slavery in all its forms. To all who have known me in the thoughtless years of childhood, or when a student in Philips's (Exeter, N. H.) Academy; a classmate in Yale College, with a Robbins, a Kerr, a M'Clellan, and others from this State; a member of Andover Seminary; a pastor of churches in Providence, R. I., and Salem, Mass.; agent of benevolent societies; a contributor to, or editor of public papers; or any walk of life in public and private; to the tens of thousands in all the States named, in all classes of society, and to all with whom a brief residence in the South has introduced me, I confidently appeal. Let them say that I am chargeable with one act that is unbecoming the character of an educated Christian gentleman; one act that shall ever cause my children to honour their father less than nature and affection would bid them. I make this appeal with a distinct remembrance of the past, that during the last seven years in public life, I have often come in collision with the views, the prejudices, the angry passions of religious and political partizans of almost every class; and, at times, have been assailed, and assailed others, with a temper that even the excitement of partizanship poorly justifies. But I AM WILLING TO BE JUDGED BY MY ENEMIES, so far as they themselves belong to the reputable portion of society—slave-traders and their abettors do not. In this state the first effort was made to stamp ignominy on an unsullied name. In January, 1842, by the advice and at the request of several gentlemen among the most prominent whig and democratic members of Congress, I attended a public convention—open to all the world—in the city of Annapolis, called to perpetuate the curse and crime of slavery in this state. I was an entire stranger in Maryland, having previously spent but eleven hours in it, seven of which were employed in passing through it. By the malicious acts of certain members of the gambling fraternity, whom I had offended by exposing their characters, a lawless and drunken mob was excited against me, and I was thrust into jail. No complaint was made, no oath taken, no violation of law, actual or possible, was ever hinted at, to excuse such a violation of the laws, constitution, and hospitality of the state. In all the week of subsequent investigation, not a shadow of a pretext for my detention appeared; yet certain under-

lings of the press, from that hour have sought to connect my name with epithets belonging to the class of felons who figure in the loathsome police reports. The wrong done me by the citizens and authorities of Maryland at that time remains unredressed; how much to their and her honour, the world will judge.

Four months since I came to this city, to make it my permanent residence. Within a week from my coming, a noted slave-trader commenced that series of machinations that resulted in my arrest. Whether that arrest, in its results, will bring honour or shame to the individuals and States who are made parties to it, of one thing I am sure; it will *never destroy my good name*, in the eyes of any considerable portion of the Christian and honourable part of mankind. This leads me to my second object.

2nd. I wish, while I would carefully avoid any statement that can be deemed a *prejudgment* of the issues to be tendered to the courts of law and justice, to have the public understand the nature of these issues.

I am charged with aiding a man, a native of Maryland, sold into Virginia, to escape from slavery in the latter state. The governor of Virginia, in the common course of law, demands my delivery for trial there, as a "fugitive from justice." My open residence in Baltimore, with a railroad to Winchester, whence I am charged with aiding this man to flee, looks very much like flight, to be sure! I am also charged with aiding two women and a boy to escape from an obscure person in this city. It is said that I have been humane enough to help these persons to escape to some free state. To do such acts of kindness to the penniless slave, I am told, has been by statute, made a penal offence in these two states. Whether the facts are truly charged or not, is of very little moment to any but the poor people themselves. If they are free, there is room for twice four more free labourers south of Mason and Dixon's line. To myself, while I am neither a martyr nor a stoic, to pretend to be insensible to the evils of a separation from my family, from society, from all opportunities of gaining knowledge and of benefiting society, by an imprisonment with the felons of your penitentiaries, yet I say, without hesitation, I had rather be the prisoner than the judge who may sentence me.

What are the legal issues? 1. One is not peculiar to my case. It is, whether a mere requisition from the authorities of another State, unsupported by evidence of the commission of any crime, or of the identity of the person, shall be deemed sufficient warranty to drag a man from his home, his family, his friends, into a foreign jurisdiction, to be tried by strangers? If so, we have gained little by the revolution of 1776. 2. The second issue is, is it "felony or other crime," within the meaning of the constitution of the United States, to aid a slave to escape to a free state? The local laws of one half of even the SLAVE states do not make it so. 3. Has SLAVERY any constitutional or legal existence in Maryland or Virginia? Or does it exist by mere sufferance? the subject of restriction and regulation, as gambling is in Hamburg, and was in New Orleans at a very recent period? 4. Is it a crime at all, by the law of God, by the common law, or the constitutions of Maryland and Virginia, to help a man out of slavery? If not, can a mere local statute law make it so? Can laws make acts of humanity and mercy to the helpless and poor become crimes by the words written on a parchment, and signed by officials? Can Maryland, who voted public thanks and swords of honour to those who delivered a few of our countrymen from slavery in Tripoli, make it a crime to help her native born citizens to escape from slavery on her own soil?—Do the waves of the Atlantic change the nature of justice, mercy, humanity, and make them crimes and felonies?

3. Here, then, are the issues, not stated with legal form and precision, as my learned counsel may do before the proper tribunal, but plainly, the issues on which THE STATES OF MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA WILL GO TO TRIAL BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL OF MANKIND.

The issue is not whether I have or have not aided four or four thousand slaves to escape from slavery in Maryland or elsewhere. Had I done the last, Maryland with her population kept sparse, her resources diminished, and her proud name dishonoured by slavery, should hold me a public benefactor. But, not without mature deliberation I aver it, I AM NOT ON TRIAL. I shall not be in the eyes of mankind. This thing cannot be, shall not be, done in a corner. It is no obscure fanatic, reckless of right and duty, with whom the question is brought to an issue. No Judge O'Neal can slander me as he has poor Brown, not only in that parody on piety, his judicial sentence, but in a recent letter to the British public, through the Glasgow Argus; and endeavour to lessen the infamy of making it a crime to help men out of slavery, by showing that the personal character of the man, in other respects, is such as justly to deprive him of every one's sympathy. No, thank God! Maryland and Virginia must go to trial before the tribunal of the civilized world on this broad issue: Will you, in order to maintain slavery,

(which lives in your impoverished States only by the annual sales of its increase in the southern shambles)—will you condemn a man of blameless life and unspotted Christian character to your prisons as a common felon?"

When the Foreign Secretary of State of Great Britain, Lord Aberdeen, from his place in parliament, seconded Lord Brougham in proclaiming the infamy of Brown's judges, he uttered no mere British philippic against anything American; he spoke the sentiments of all the enlightened part of mankind, save a narrow and daily decreasing circle in our own slave states, in respect to the system of slavery, and in regard to all who attempt to make it a crime to relieve its victims. Already scores of public meetings in the free states, numbering from one to eight thousand persons each, have spoken of my imprisonment in terms like the following. These resolves were passed at a 4th of July celebration, on Mount Pleasant, the spot fortified by the Americans after the battle of Bunker Hill, by the fathers of many of those present, to my personal knowledge. About two thousand persons were there.

"Resolved, That we have heard with mingled feelings of indignation and sorrow of the arrest and imprisonment, in Maryland, of a citizen of Massachusetts, Rev. Charles T. Torrey, through a requisition of the executive of Virginia, charging him with having carried out in practice the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty, and with literally obeying the injunction of holy writ:—'Hide the outcast, and betray not him that wandereth!'

"Resolved, That as citizens of a state whose bill of rights recognizes no slave in the universe of God, assembled upon the grass-grown remains of one of the first entrenchments thrown up by the men of 1775, within view of the first battle-fields of the revolution, and of the old cradle of liberty, on the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, we protest in the name of that declaration against this denial of its truths and violation of its principles, on the part of the authorities of Virginia and Maryland, in the case of our fellow-citizen, Mr. Torrey; and we call upon all who love liberty and hate oppression, to unite with us in indignant reprobation of a system which can only exist by making humanity a crime—a practical belief in the doctrines of the revolution, felony—and obedience to the commands of God a penitentiary offence!"

Nor are the persons who express such views abolitionists merely. Few men can be found in the entire North who cherish, none who will avow, any other sentiments, unless it is to serve some base purpose of a partisan political nature.

I may be tried, convicted, of doing that which mankind will pronounce a good and honourable deed, and sent to your penitentiary; the thoughtless crowd, the heated partisan, may think lightly of it; the fanatical, nullifying slaveholder, may gloat over his fancied triumph; but there are not wanting men of higher calibre and more intelligence, in this city and state, who will know that the judge who consigns me to a prison will not send me alone. The honour and good name of the state will bear me company. How will it affect the value of Maryland stocks in Anti-slavery Europe, to find such a proof of a fierce zeal to sustain that slavery which is the bane of your prosperity? What Christian minister, what Christian man, from Maryland, can hold up his head in Europe, when asked, "So you send Christian ministers to a felon's prison in Maryland, do you, for helping slaves escape from bondage?"

Liberty may be taken from me: my good name cannot, until I have done something more to forfeit it than acts which nine-tenths of the civilized world deem to be the bare performance of the duties imposed on us by common humanity and the Christian faith.

I said, I make no appeal to public sympathy. Let the guilty do that! I shall give the eminent counsellors who plead my cause in the courts but one instruction; it is, that they make no admission, even by way of argument, that it can be a crime to aid one of God's children, formed in his image, to escape from slavery. The crime is to make God's child a slave!

If any who read this deem my language that of pride, I have only to say that the world will judge. I am a man, and I am right, and therefore I speak boldly to those who are my equals, and no more.

CHARLES T. TORREY.

Baltimore Jail, Aug. 29th, 1844.

SLAVES AT BOURBON LIBERATED BY LAW, BUT THROWN BACK INTO SLAVERY BY REPEATED ACTS OF THE COLONIAL COUNCIL.

(From the *French Abolitionist*.)

THE Society for the abolition of slavery, in its sitting of July 23, 1844, received a report which was made by one of its members, on the refusal of liberty to 500 negroes by the colonial council of Bourbon, in spite of the efforts of the government; and it resolved to give publicity to the facts, before adopting official methods for obtaining a remedy.

We find these facts in a document not liable to suspicion. It is the *Dictionary of Colonial Legislation*, published in 1844, by a lawyer, senior member of the order of advocates at Bourbon.

In 1810, the British government being then in possession of the Isles of France and Bourbon, it liberated the greater number of a colonial gang formed of blacks obtained by the slave-trade, because that traffic had been abolished by act of parliament in 1807.

In 1815, after France resumed possession of the colony of Bourbon, the colonial authorities possessed themselves of the remnant of this gang, and it is alleged that they purchased some others; it is

more probable, however, that it was augmented by means of the slave-trade, which was re-established in our colonies, although a royal ordinance of the 8th of January, 1817, and a law of 1818, had been directed to its abolition.

A few seizures took place from 1819 to 1832, the period of the final suppression of this infamous traffic: these seizures increased the colonial gang to 1,000 slaves.

The liberation of these blacks would have been effected in 1837, since the law of the 4th of March, 1831, limited their servitude to seven years.

The colonial council alleged that these blacks belonged to the colony, and not to the state, and that they could not be liberated: but, on being consulted, the commission appointed by the ministry of marine for the suppression of the slave-trade, and for the execution of the law of 1831, and of a royal ordinance of the 25th of September, 1837, which was extremely well designed, but which the department of marine had the weakness not to publish, declared that the blacks ought to be liberated, and that the pretensions of the colonial council were without foundation.

Beaten at this point, the colonial council next passed a decree, (and the governor ventured so far as to sanction it provisionally on the 9th of August, 1838,) which subjected 520 blacks to a new servitude of seven years.

The minister of marine consulted the same commission on the validity of this decree. The opinion of the commission was that the blacks were completely liberated by the law of 1831, and that certificates of freedom ought to be delivered to them.

The king having, in conformity with this opinion, refused his sanction to the provincial act of 1838, the governor laid before the council a plan of liberation. The council rejected this proposition. The royal authority pronounced its dissolution; and, after new elections, the question came again before the council.

On the 28th of October, 1841, a proclamation of the governor announced the liberation, by name, of 547 slaves. Art. 5, of this proclamation says—"There shall be opened a new register at the registry of the tribunal for those *engagés* (persons in limited servitude) who have not completed their time." For the honour of the French name it must be supposed that this relates to blacks seized subsequently to the law of the 4th of March, 1831, by foreign vessels, whose captures were confirmed by the tribunals of Bourbon.

In 1840, according to the colonial returns, there were in the gang 980 persons, of whom 823 were said to be free, and 157 slaves. The official return of 1841 gives as the number of this gang 964 persons, of whom 808 were free by virtue of the law of the 4th of March, and 156 slaves. The difference arises no doubt from deaths.

We cannot, however, understand how it happened that the liberated blacks were inscribed in the slave-registers of the civil department (note 5, p. 265 of the *Record Coloniale* for 1844). This was to deprive them of their position as free men, and to say that the fresh engagements to service were nothing short of slavery.

In a report made to the colonial council on the 10th of May, 1842, is found, under date of the 31st, a decree which superseded the engagement for seven years, annulled by the home authorities, and substituted for it an engagement of four years. It is affirmed that all these free blacks, with the exception of 34, signed this engagement. As they cannot write, it was easy to allege a willingness which did not exist.

Further, the governor, who, misunderstanding the wishes of the mother country, and of his government, provisionally sanctioned the colonial decree, by an ordinance of the same date (May 31) subjected the *engagés* who should commit offences against discipline to eight days' imprisonment, besides loss of wages. Enforce a voluntary contract by imprisonment! There is no such arbitrariness but in a land of slavery. The administration reserves to itself the right of breaking the engagement, but it does not acknowledge the same right on the part of the persons bound.

An ordinance of the 6th of September, 1842, forbids them to quit the premises without being furnished with passports, and, in case of disobedience, authorises their arrest.

The colonial advocate, who reports the proceedings relative to the discipline of the *engagés*, reports as in full force a local ordinance of July 21, 1820, which allows marriage (that only foundation of families) to such only of the *engagés* as are of irreproachable conduct, of good constitutions, and advanced in religious instruction: it prohibits it to those who are not baptized, and who do not distinguish themselves in the exercise of their profession. There must, in fine, be a permission of the governor to authorise the record of these marriages in the registry of the civil department. They can be neither announced, nor published. That is to say, these liberated blacks shall not be deemed worthy of the honour of marriage; and, instead of being encouraged to enter upon it, they shall be retained, as far as possible, in a state of brutal and promiscuous association.

Finally, a decree of the 4th of August, 1831, gives authority to transport them, under the name of punishment, to the French possessions in Madagascar!

Such are the laws in force over men who are declared legally free! What worse could be done with slaves?

If the French government does not promptly annul the colonial ordinance of 1842, and the series of police ordinances connected with it, the freedom of the blacks and mulattoes in these colonies will be nothing but a vain word, a bitter deception. By continuing pretended *voluntary* engagements from one term of four years to another, slavery may be perpetuated as long as you please. It is impossible more openly to trifle with the law of the 4th of March, 1831, and the powers which were then voted.

BRAZILIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

WE take from the Parliamentary Papers to-day two communications from Mr. Hamilton, British minister at the court of Brazil, demonstrating the flagrant manner in which the slave-trade is carried on in that empire.

MR. HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

Rio de Janeiro, April 12, 1843.

MY LORD,—Sr. Vasconcellos, a member of the Imperial Senate, hazarded in that chamber, some few weeks ago, the bold assertion that not an African had been imported into Brazil within the last twelve months. Though eliciting expressions of surprise from some of the more conscientious of the senators, it provoked no decided contradiction. It seemed incumbent on myself, therefore, to disprove the statement; and I addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a recapitulation of the slavers which had landed their cargoes, and an estimate of the numbers of which those cargoes consisted, within a much more limited time than that quoted by Sr. Vasconcellos, and, likewise, on a limited part only of the Brazilian coast.

But this opportunity appeared favourable also for again demonstrating to the government the practices of the slave-dealers, carried on with so much effrontery, and yet with so much impunity, and at different points of the empire; and I entered at some length into the subject.

For the details with which I rebutted the assertions of Sr. Vasconcellos, as well as for those exhibiting the malpractices here referred to of the slave-merchants, and the connivance of some of the local authorities, I beg leave to request your lordship's attention to the accompanying copy of my note to Sr. Carneiro Leao. The occurrences, however, there represented are not all I might bring under his Excellency's consideration; but I have been unwilling to lay too severe a charge, by exposing transactions still more culpable, which have passed, as it were, under the very eyes of the government authorities. The following grave and inexcusable occurrences might have been added to the catalogue; but what are to be found in my note will suffice to show that her Majesty's officers are alive to all that is passing, culpable or irregular, on the part of Brazilian functionaries, in carrying out the stipulations made by treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade.

Vessels placed by their proprietors a few months ago at the disposal of the government, in a spirit of patriotism, as was alleged,—a pseudo spirit, as it would appear by the result,—for the transport of troops to the southward, have been employed subsequently in illegal expeditions to the African slave marts; the fittings and other equipments on board adapted for the transport of soldiers being available, likewise, for that of negroes.

On the 16th March, two parties of *Boças* (new negroes) were marched through one of the principal streets of this capital at noon-day. And that exhibition was by no means a solitary one. In this said street are several places of deposit, where such negroes are openly offered for sale.

On the succeeding morning, about seven o'clock, a very large open launch, crowded with Africans in a state of nudity, was seen crossing the harbour. This occurrence, too, was witnessed by many persons, but no interruption whatever was offered to the boat, and she pursued her way with her contraband cargo.

Not many months ago, one of the forts near the entrance of this harbour received and gave shelter to new negroes just landed in the vicinity, at so many reis per head per night; and there is every reason to believe that these asylums are still open to the violators of the law.

The details here given, as well as those mentioned in my note to Sr. C. Leao, are collected from various quarters, and reports made to me. But if through channels of communication often irresponsible and precarious, it has been possible for her Majesty's Legation to arrive at such important information, can it be unreasonable to expect that the Brazilian government might, through its official channels, and with means and appliances comparatively unlimited, obtain earlier and more copious intelligence on these matters; and that, obtaining it, it might, in fair and honest zeal for the discharge of its engagements, and through due exercise of the powers vested in it, utterly suppress such flagrant and culpable misdoings?

Of two things, one: either the government does not exert itself to acquire the needful information on such infringements of law and treaty; or, being in possession of it, it fails to employ it with the good faith and the energy requisite to attain the meritorious object in view. This is a dilemma difficult to escape from. In either alternative, the Conventions entered into by the two Crowns to put down conjointly such an intolerable system of injustice and oppression have not been honestly executed by the Brazilian government. The means hitherto devoted by Great Britain to this end, through this divergence on the part of Brazil, have unfortunately proved insufficient; and it is for her Majesty's government, therefore, to decide whether any, and what others, can be resorted to, that may lead Brazil to a line of conduct which, by applying an immediate and effectual remedy, would relieve the alliance altogether from the moral responsibility attaching to such a fearful state of things.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) HAMILTON HAMILTON.

MR. HAMILTON TO SR. CARNEIRO LEO.

Rio de Janeiro, April 7, 1843.

In a late debate in the Imperial Senate, a distinguished member of that Chamber, also member of the Council of State, advanced, and more than once, that not a single African had been imported into Brazil within the last twelve months, and that he conceived no better encomium could be passed on the moral character of the Brazilians. And again he advanced, that Brazil had been stigmatized in the English House of Lords for carrying on such an illicit commerce; and that it is the duty of the government to repel such calumnies, as offensive to the dignity of Brazil. And he invited information, likewise, as to the individuals by whom the traffic was being carried on: declaring at the same time, however, that it had absolutely ceased.

As a set-off to this most extraordinary statement, the undersigned, &c., takes leave to bring under the notice of Sr. Carneiro Leao, &c., the following return of slave vessels—by no means, as he apprehends, a complete one,—which have landed their cargoes of human beings, within points on the Brazilian coast not very distant from Rio de Janeiro, and only recently,—that is to say, since the 1st of November of last year, a space of five months. In some of its items, the return may possibly prove inaccurate; and if it is so, the government possesses the means of verifying to what extent.

From the date of November 1, 1842, there have arrived at Ilha Grande three vessels; at Dois Rios, one; at St. Sebastian's, five; in the vicinity of Santos, seven; at Cape Frio, four; Rio das Ostras, near Barra de S. Joao, three; Macahé, eight; Manquinhas, near Campos, eight; being—

To the southward	16
To the northward	23

Together 39

vessels; which number, allowing to each an average of three hundred negroes—a very low rate—would have conveyed a total of 11,700; a more probable average being at least a moiety more, or 450 each vessel, giving a cipher of 17,550 negroes.

Now if this return be correct, as in the main the undersigned believes it to be, the statement advanced in the Imperial Senate, in a contrary sense, is clearly erroneous; and all the corollaries deduced therefrom by the distinguished senator in question, of necessity must fall to the ground.

With regard to the names of leading individuals engaged in the odious commerce, the subjoined list may in part supply the desired information. It is sufficiently numerous, perhaps, to satisfy the illustrious senator; if not, other names can be given.

The Commandador, José Bernardino de Sá.—Sñres. Antonio José Moreira Pinto.—Sñres Manoel Pinto da Fonseca.—George José de Souza.—José Antonio dos Santos Xavier.—Franco e Moreira.—Barboza and Castro.—Rocha Pacheco.—Antonio Ferreira do Amorim.—Amaral & Bustos.—Barboza & Guimarães.—Francisco Fernandez Guimaraes.—Clerk of José Antonio Ferreira.—Sñres Vergueiro & Brothers, &c., &c.

With further reference, however, to this traffic, and in order to exhibit the regular and systematic way in which it is pursued in various parts of the empire, the undersigned would invite the attention of Sr. Carneiro Leao to the subjoined particulars.

In the neighbourhood of Pernambuco and Bahia are establishments where newly-imported Africans are received and taught the language of the country, before they are sent hither by coasting vessels for sale, or, as the *Jornal do Commercio* expresses it, *para entregar*. On one occasion, lately, so many as eighty-four of these *Boças* were conveyed hither in one vessel.

At Macahé, also, are establishments belonging to Francisco Domingos d'Arango Vianna, and others, for the purpose of shipping merchandise in vessels bound to the coast, which vessels, with a view to avoid detection and capture, leave Rio de Janeiro in ballast; and of equipping such vessels in all other respects for their illegal pursuits, as well as for the landing and receiving of the negroes on the return voyage, the proprietors of these establishments acting as agents of the slave-dealers in Rio de Janeiro.

Sr. Vergueiro and Brothers, likewise, with a view to facilitate and augment the traffic, have recently formed other establishments to the southward of Santos, viz., at Taipui, near Queimada, and Guarachu, ten or fifteen miles distant from Conceição.

At Santos, and in the vicinity, the trade is greatly on the increase. There, and at St. Paul's, new negroes are driven publicly through the streets, and sold with as little ceremony as when the traffic was legal.

Among other instances which might be quoted as to the activity prevailing there, the slave-dealers recently fitted out a vessel called the *Julia*, ostensibly for a voyage to Montevideo, with a cargo of mules, such cargo supplying a pretext for laying in a greater quantity of water than would otherwise be legal. When the *Julia* sailed, however, she had on board boilers, manacles, and other slave equipments. An American vessel, lately purchased there by these dealers, name unknown, was preparing to assume the Brazilian or Portuguese flag—if not indeed both—with a view to a trading voyage to the African slave marts, having already on board the necessary equipment. A vessel, too, called the *Cesar* was in a very forward state of preparation for a similar expedition; and on many of the traders the Custom-house fails to exact the usual anchorage and other port dues.

At Perrequé the local authorities do not hesitate to declare openly and unreservedly their determination to encourage and defend the contraband commerce.

Divers other indefensible occurrences, also, extracted, in like manner, from reports addressed to her Majesty's Legation, might here be enumerated, showing how deeply even many of the subordinate authorities of this capital and the municipality are implicated in these unlawful practices. But the undersigned is reluctant to place on record cases of such serious and painful import. The details already furnished appear more than adequate to the object the undersigned proposed to himself; and in bringing them thus collectively to the knowledge and under the consideration of Sr. Carneiro Leao, (as it will be his duty to do by his own government,) he is persuaded all comment must be superfluous. The intelligent mind of his Excellency will not fail, of itself, to perceive immediately the important results to which they may give rise. The undersigned limits himself to one observation alone, that her Majesty's government are determined to see all the provisions of the treaties entered into for the abolition of slave traffic honestly and fairly carried out.

The undersigned, &c.,
(Signed) HAMILTON HAMILTON.

The following is an extract of a despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen to Mr. Hamilton, in relation to this manifest violation of its obligations by the Brazilian Government:—

With every allowance which Her Majesty's Government can make for prejudice, for mistaken feeling, for jealousy, and for weakness, such gross violations of the existing engagements between Great Britain and Brazil cannot be passed over by Her Majesty's Government without notice, nor suffered to remain without remedy.

Remonstrance upon remonstrance has been made, and not only has there been no diminution of the just cause for complaint, but the evil complained of continually increases. And that this cannot be entirely owing to weakness on the part of the Government is evident, since, when in 1840 and 1841, the administration for a time showed an intention to fulfil the obligations of the treaty, the importations immediately and steadily decreased; whilst now, that a contrary disposition has unfortunately been evinced, the unforeseen absence of the British cruisers from the Brazilian coast has, in the space of a few weeks, been followed by an increased activity in the trade, so immediate and so decided, as to show too plainly that the speculators in the condemned traffic have no fears of interruption on the part of the officers of the Imperial Government.

Nor can the British Government forget how frequently, since the Convention of 1826 was concluded, they have endeavoured to induce the Government of Brazil to render more complete and effective the provisions of the existing compacts between the two countries, by adapting to the altered state of things under which the entire abolition of the slave-trade has been declared by treaty, the several stipulations which had been framed when the object was only to suppress a portion of that trade, or to subject it to fixed regulations.

Conventions have been drawn up, framed upon memoranda put forward by the Brazilian Government itself; but when proposed for formal acceptance on negotiation, they have been at once rejected.

This was the case with the convention proposed by Viscount Palmerston's directions in the month of August, 1840.

Articles adapted to make the existing stipulations more stringent have not only been negotiated, but signed; and the ratifications of these, after a lapse of eight years, remain unexchanged.

Other propositions for rendering effectual the intentions of the parties to the convention of 1826 were proposed under my direction by you to Sr. Aureliano, and the discussion of them was peremptorily refused by the Government of Brazil.

The time is therefore arrived when it becomes Her Majesty's Government to declare distinctly to the Brazilian Government, that they do not intend that the obligations contracted by the convention of 1826 shall fail, for want of the co-operation so continually and vainly asked by this Government from the Government of Brazil.

And if that Government still decline to enter with Great Britain into formal arrangements, calculated to give full effect to the declared intentions of the parties to the conventions of 1826, for the total and final abolition of the slave-trade, it will remain for Her Majesty to take alone, and by her own means, the steps which she may feel called upon to adopt, for carrying into full and complete effect the humane object of the obligation imposed upon Her Majesty by the first article of the convention of the 23rd November, 1826, between Great Britain and Brazil.

You will embody this despatch in an official note to the Brazilian Minister.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ABERDEEN.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.,) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 2, 1844.

WE inserted in our last an important despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen to the British minister at Madrid, directing that functionary to remonstrate with the Spanish government on its notorious disregard of the stipulations entered into with Great Britain in relation to the slave-trade. In the present number we exhibit, in two communications from Mr. Hamilton, our minister at Rio de Janeiro, accumulated proofs of the extent to which the slave-trade is carried on in the empire of Brazil, together with an extract of a despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen, in the same tone with that addressed to the British minister at Madrid.

THE papers received by the last mail from the West Indies brought accounts of the holding of several anti-slavery meetings, on a day very fitly chosen, the first of August. One was held at Port of Spain, Trinidad, at which, as appears by an account which we have inserted elsewhere, the planters succeeded in causing distraction. The meeting of the auxiliary in British Guiana was held at George-town, Demerara, and an able and interesting report was read, from which we have given some extracts (taken from the *Congregational Record*) in another column. The resolutions passed at this meeting we insert below:—

"1. That in adopting the report now read, this meeting concurs in the expression of gratitude for the solicitude with which the Parent Society in London watches the interests of the emancipated colonies, especially evidenced by their prompt attention to the resolutions of April 29th, relative to the Half-Million Loan; rejoices in the Society's firm adherence to their original constitution, and their consistent opposition to the introduction of slave-grown sugar to the British market; and engages to furnish grateful pecuniary aid to the Parent Society in its persevering endeavours for the abolition of slavery throughout the earth.

"2. That this meeting concurs in the view, that every encouragement should be secured to the consumption of free-grown produce of foreign nations, consistent with a due regard to the special interests of our own dependencies. Yet, alive to the practical difficulties of the question, in reference to free productions in slave countries—the abuse to which the admission is liable, especially on the part of unprincipled slave-masters—and the several ways in which the best arranged fiscal stipulations may be evaded—this meeting urges and implores the exercise of the utmost caution on the part of the friends of liberty, in relation to any measures to which they may be required to give countenance for this end.

"3. That this meeting deeply deplores the infatuation by which men, whom they had been accustomed to regard as the friends of the oppressed, have recently become the advocates of the foreign slave masters, as well as of the reckless abandonment of the recently emancipated colonies, by making the cheapness of the unrequited toil of the slave a plea for the consumption of slave sugar in Great Britain; by means of which, if it succeed, the hands of the abolitionists will be weakened—the abolition cause impeded—renewed vigour infused into the abominable traffic in slaves—and the noble act of British emancipation stultified before the world."

By a private letter we have received accounts of a similar meeting held in Jamaica, at Fuller's Field, when a collection was made towards the funds of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, amounting to three pounds ten shillings. The resolutions passed at this meeting were as follow:—

"1. That this meeting returns sincere thanks to Almighty God for his goodness in sparing them to the sixth anniversary of freedom, and determines to do all in its power to promote the welfare of this island—the emancipation of those of their fellow-creatures still in slavery—and the salvation of the whole human family.

"2. That this meeting has heard with the deepest regret that some of their friends in England advocate the introduction of slave-grown sugar into Great Britain; and feeling that such a step will inflict great injury on this and other free countries, and that it will tend to increase the miseries of their brethren in bondage, as well as promote the slave-trade, they earnestly entreat their friends in the mother country to resist by every lawful means such an injurious and wicked course.

"3. Believing that, by a reduction of the enormous amount of taxation now levied on the inhabitants of this island, which is made to bear especially on the poor in the shape of duties on those articles principally consumed by them; and particularly by leaving religion to be entirely supported, as it ever ought to be, by the voluntary principle, and the abandonment of the immigration scheme, by which so much of the public money has been wasted of late,—this country would be able to supply England with sugar as cheap and good as any free country in the world; this meeting, therefore, resolves to petition the House of Assembly, at its coming session, for this purpose, and would call on every taxpayer to sign such petition, and would further urge on those who possess the elective franchise to use that privilege as becomes freemen, patriots, and Christians."

We are truly happy to find these tokens of surviving vigour in the Anti-Slavery Societies in the British West Indies, and we trust that the example which has been thus set will be extensively followed. No persons are more loudly called upon to aid the destruction of slavery throughout the world than those who have so lately escaped from its miseries, and begin to share so largely the blessings of freedom.

THE American mail which arrived on Monday, has brought intelligence of much interest to the anti-slavery cause, relating especially to the struggle which the South is making to crush abolitionists by legal proceedings and imprisonment. The prosecution of three young men, students of the Mission Institute at Theopolis, Illinois, and

their condemnation to twelve years' confinement in the penitentiary, for aiding slaves to escape, will be fresh in the recollection of our readers, and they will read with interest a letter respecting them which we have received from a correspondent. The arrest of the Rev. Charles Torrey is more recent, and the proceedings to which it has given rise are exciting a deep sensation in all parts of the Union. The case has by this time been heard before Chief Justice Taney, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, to try the constitutional question of right, and some of the ablest counsel in the States are employed on his behalf. In the meantime he has issued a noble and stirring address from his prison to the State of Maryland, which will be read with great interest on both sides of the Atlantic. We have transferred it entire to our columns, and warmly commend it to perusal. To the cases of the three students and Mr. Torrey is now to be added a third, that of Jonathan Walker, of whose seizure at sea, and imprisonment at Pensacola, in Louisiana, on the same charge of aiding slaves to escape, we have given an account in another column. These multiplying instances shew the ferment into which the admirers of the "peculiar institution" of the South have been thrown, and into which they are rapidly throwing the whole length and breadth of the Union. Many hopes are entertained, and most fervently do we share in them, that the numerous and important legal questions which arise out of the cases of Torrey and Walker, will be decided in favour of humanity and freedom.

We have received with great pleasure the first number of the second volume of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*. Too long suspended by want of pecuniary means, the renewed publication of this interesting and important journal has at length been resolved upon by the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and we trust the effort will be fully sustained. We rejoice to know, however, that, during the suspension of the *Reporter*, the anti-slavery cause has been constantly and powerfully advocated in the United States by various journals of extensive circulation and influence.

It has all along been known that the ruling party in the French Colonies has shown an obstinate resistance to all measures having the remotest bearing on the ultimate liberation of the slaves. The *French Abolitionist* for August, however, brings to light an instance of the audacity and pertinacity of these wilful gentry which surpasses, we think, everything of the kind before heard of. We have given the article at length elsewhere, and commend it to careful perusal. The French government cannot consent to be beaten in this manner by the colonial council of Bourbon, without a loss of character and moral power which must altogether disqualify it for the great conflict with these infatuated dependencies which it has declared its purpose to undertake.

THE SLAVE-TRADING CASE.

CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT—Thursday, September 19th.

[Before Mr. Justice WIGHTMAN and Mr. Justice CRESSWELL.]

Thomas Jennings, the captain of the *Augusta*, for the fitting out of which for purposes of slave-trading M. de Zulueta was tried and acquitted some months since, was placed at the bar, charged with navigating, manning, fitting out, commanding, &c., the vessel, for the purpose of trading in slaves.

Mr. Payne and Mr. Lush appeared for the prosecution. Mr. Hill, Q.C., Mr. Prendergast, and Mr. V. Williams, were counsel for the prisoner.

The prisoner pleaded *autrefois acquit*.

A short narrative may be necessary to explain the nature of the proceedings.

The ship *Augusta* was a notorious slaver. She had been engaged on the coast of Africa for a long time, and sailed under Russian colours and a Russian name. She was taken and condemned as a Russian slaver, and sold. Subsequently, she was again reported as having been seen under Spanish or Portuguese colours off the same coast, and after some trouble she was again captured, condemned, and sold. She was then purchased in London, and sent round to Liverpool, where her slave-decks, water-tanks, and other slave fittings, were taken out, and she was thoroughly repaired and English rigged. She was then named the *Augusta*, and having been laden with silk goods, Manchester cottons, and other articles suited to the African trade, she was despatched to the African coast, the Gallenas being her destination. Captain Hill, who had captured and condemned her previously, fell in with her, and recognized her again, and having examined, he seized her, alleging that the goods on board were for the purpose of exchanging for slaves at the barracoons. He carried her to Sierra Leone, where the captain (Jennings) was tried for felony, in having commanded a vessel engaged in the slave-trade. There were two counts in the indictment. The prisoner was acquitted. At the time that M. de Zulueta was charged with felony, in having fitted out, &c., the vessel, Captain Jennings was arrested and indicted for navigating, manning, and commanding her. His trial was postponed for the purpose of obtaining from Sierra Leone the record of the mixed commission court, and the record having arrived during the last session of this court, the trial was again postponed, in order to give the counsel an opportunity of considering it.

Mr. Payne now rose for the purpose of arguing a demurrer on the part of the Crown, to the plea put in by the prisoner. He contended that the acquittal at Sierra Leone could not be pleaded in bar of the present prosecution. The material question for the court was, whether the defendant had been formerly tried upon the same identical charge now made against him, and he was prepared to contend that the charges were of a totally different character, and that the plea of *autrefois acquit* could not be sustained. The learned counsel proceeded to state, that it appeared by the record of the proceedings that the defendant was tried under a

commission at Sierra Leone, and that the offence of which he was accused was the taking charge of a vessel, well knowing that it was to be employed in dealing for slaves; and in the second count he was charged with putting goods and merchandize on board the vessel, with the same object. The charge contained in the present indictment was, that the defendant with two other persons, named Beanardas and Zulueta, had unlawfully manned and equipped a vessel at London for the purpose of dealing in slaves. He submitted that these were distinct offences, and he cited a case in which Lord Tenterden had decided that the plea of *autrefois acquit* could not be supported unless the defendant showed clearly that the offence with which he was charged was the precise offence in every particular of which he had been before acquitted. The learned counsel next proceeded to make some remarks relative to the venue and the jurisdiction of the court, and concluded by observing, that the natural questions were, whether the prisoner was put in any jeopardy by the form in which the indictment had been preferred at Sierra Leone against him? and, secondly, whether the present charge was entirely identical in all material particulars with the former one?

Mr. Justice Wightman observed, that the distinction appeared to be, that at Sierra Leone the prisoner was charged with having commanded and navigated a vessel intended to be employed in the slave-trade; and the present charge was, that he manned and equipped the vessel, and put goods on board her, with the same object.

Mr. Payne said this was so, and he apprehended there was a great distinction to be made between the two charges.

Mr. Lush followed Mr. Payne in support of the demurrer.

Mr. Hill next addressed the court in support of the plea, and after some general observations with reference to the law and the nature of the charge as it had been framed in Sierra Leone and in this country, he said, that although there might be some variation in the details of the charge now brought against the defendant and the former indictment, yet there could not be the slightest doubt that, substantially, both charges were the same, were connected with the same vessel, the *Augusta*, and arose out of the same state of facts; and he urged that, even if any slight doubt should arise upon the point, it would be a greater assertion of the dignity of the law, and avoid the cruelty of trying a man twice for the same offence, than to put him in that jeopardy upon a mere trifling variation in the form of the indictment, which, he contended, was all that had been done in the present case. If the present proceeding were successful, then it would go a great way to create an opinion that a colonial acquittal was of no avail; and as it was one of the great principles of the English law that no man should be vexed by being tried twice for the same offence, he trusted the court would give effect to the plea put upon the record, and quash the present indictment. With regard to the present indictment itself, he (Mr. Hill) would contend that it was untenable on the four last counts, from duplicity; the allegations being that he, the prisoner, manned, equipped, fitted out, loaded, commanded, and navigated the vessel for the purpose of the slave-trade. Every one of those allegations constituted a separate felony. The learned counsel argued the point at considerable length.

Mr. Prendergast and Mr. V. Williams followed on the same side.

Mr. Payne replied, observing that he felt fully the force of the objections to the indictment made by his learned friend; but as it was not then the time to argue in support of the present indictment, he should confine his remarks to the plea and the demurrer.

On the conclusion of the learned counsel's argument,

Their lordships announced their intention to consider their judgment. They would deliver it to-morrow morning.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

Mr. Justice Wightman, addressing Mr. Hill, said that after a consideration, so far as time permitted, of the various points at issue regarding the validity of the plea of *autrefois acquit* put in by the prisoner, they were of opinion that although there were several of them which admitted of no doubt whatever, there were one or two questions of grave consideration and great public importance upon which they could not think of delivering judgment without mature deliberation. The case, therefore, should stand over until the next session.

Mr. Hill complained greatly of the hardship to which his client would be subjected by any further postponement.

Mr. Payne, on behalf of the prosecution, could not admit of the gravity of the hardships upon the prisoner. He might stand out on the same bail as he had given before.

Mr. Justice Wightman did not understand what Mr. Hill required. What was the nature of his application?

Mr. Hill objected to the further postponement of the case. His client would be subjected to great hardship by being detained under this already too long protracted charge.

Mr. Justice Wightman: How can it be avoided? We cannot give our opinion on the points raised before the next session. You have not only argued the similarity of the charges under the two indictments, but you have also raised objections to the validity of the present indictment. We must take time to consider such grave and important matters. Your client can in the meantime stand out on bail.

Mr. Payne regretted that his learned friend should have made any observations upon the hardships which his client should undergo in waiting upon the investigation of this important case. It provoked a comment upon the awful hardships to which men, women, and children were subjected by the carrying on of the horrible traffic which it was the object of this prosecution to put down.

Mr. Hill persisted in objecting to the great hardships which his client would be subjected to by the postponement.

Mr. Justice Wightman: What is your motion, Mr. Hill? What do you propose?

Mr. Hill: That my client be allowed to stand out on bail, my lord.

Mr. Justice Wightman: Why, that has been offered to you by the learned counsel for the prosecution. I understood Mr. Payne to offer it; and the court has no objection.

Mr. Payne: Certainly. We have no objection to the prisoner standing out on the same bail as formerly.

Mr. Hill (to the court): Then, do I understand that to be your lordship's judgment?

Mr. Justice Wightman: Certainly not. The court delivers no judgment in the matter. The counsel for the prosecution offers to let your client stand out on bail, and we have no objection. I cannot see what more you want.

The subject was then allowed to drop.

UNITED STATES.

THE THREE PRISONERS—WORK, BURR, and THOMPSON.

HAVING received from a correspondent at Theopolis the following interesting narrative, we present it to our readers:—

In accordance with a previous arrangement, they set out, on the 11th July, 1841, to assist a few slaves in crossing the Mississippi, about three miles below Quincy. They were betrayed by one of the slaves, and consequently taken by the Missourians. After much abuse they were thrust into a gloomy jail, chained with a heavy iron chain, kept on the most miserable fare, denied the privilege of intercourse with friends, and even of the occasional visitation of ministers of the gospel from this state; and, at the expiration of fourteen weeks, subjected to a mock trial, and condemned, on the charge of Grand Larceny, to twelve long, long years imprisonment in the penitentiary! Thus are they cut off from the society of dear friends, their plans of usefulness for life frustrated, and they numbered with transgressors. And why? Because they remembered those in bonds as bound with them, and, in their zeal for their neighbour's welfare, forgot their own.

Mr. Work was an industrious mechanic, a peaceable and upright man, and a consistent Christian. He has a family, wife and four children, residing in this place, who were dependent on his labour for support.

The two young men, Burr and Thompson, were members of our institution, zealous in doing good, and pursuing a course of study preparatory to the gospel ministry. Thompson especially has talents of a high order, and gave promise of eminent usefulness. Ardently devoted to the Saviour's cause, ever ready to reprove sin, and to engage in doing good, he was greatly beloved by those acquainted with him. The Lord has been with them in the prison, and blessed the instructions they have been permitted to give their fellow-prisoners to the salvation, it is hoped, of many. There is much sympathy for these brethren in different portions of the northern states. It may be the force of public sentiment will effect their deliverance in the course of a few years. While those brethren were in jail, awaiting their trial, they had opportunity to converse with several coloured people who came early in the evening, and spoke with them through their iron-grated window. Such they instructed in regard to the plans and operations of abolitionists, and told them the way to Canada. In consequence of this, more than a hundred slaves in Missouri have escaped to the dominions of Queen Victoria; and it is said that most of the slaves in Missouri now know the way to Canada.

It was not long after the slaves began to escape that our institution (the Mission Institution at Theopolis, Illinois,) was accused by the Missourians as engaged in stealing, secreting, and running off their "niggers." They accordingly issued their anathemas against us, and threatened to burn all our houses, and destroy the institution. At length they succeeded in burning our chapel, and a small portion of our library. The damage was estimated at 1200 to 1400 dollars. We have since erected a brick chapel, much better than the former, and also added to our library a greater number of volumes than were destroyed. We have no fears of further interruption on the part of the Missourians. So many are now the advocates of freedom in this part of Illinois, that the enemy will not dare to commit such depredations in time to come.

ANOTHER VICTIM AT THE SOUTH—ARREST OF JONATHAN WALKER.

We take the following narrative from our file of the *Liberator*:—

"Mr. Walker is a native of Massachusetts, and has a family in Harwich. He went to Mobile last fall, passenger in a schooner from Chatham, to work at his trade, being a shipwright, and took a boat with him to use if he should want it, or to sell. He did not succeed in selling his boat; and on the 2nd of June, left in her for Pensacola, with an intention of raising a sunken wreck in Pensacola Bay; but the owner and Walker could not agree as to terms. Not finding a sale for his boat, after being there several days, he made an arrangement with some men to take them to New Providence, providing they would risk themselves in an open boat. They made up their minds to go, and on the night of the 22nd, they came on board, (seven in number,) and went to sea. The first five or six days, they had constant head winds, and squally, blustering weather. They followed the coast round towards Cape Florida, generally keeping in with the land, and went on shore several times to get water and cook some victuals; but as they drew nearer towards the Cape, were prevented landing by the abundance of mosquitoes. When within forty or fifty miles of the Cape, where they intended to stop for water, &c., they discovered at daylight on the morning of the 9th of July, a sloop close by, standing for them, and in a short time she was alongside the boat. The captain inquired where from and where bound to? and was answered, from St. Joseph's, bound to Cape Florida. [They went to St. Joseph's after leaving Pensacola, intending to stop at the Cape for water.] The sloop sailed much faster than the boat, and took them in tow, saying she was bound the same way. At the same time they managed to get four of the passengers on board the sloop, and by some means found out they were fugitive slaves. The sloop was then put about, and ran to the westward a few miles, and came to anchor in company with two other sloops. They were all wrecking vessels, belonging to Key West. The sloop *Eliza Catherine*, Captain Roberts, (for this was the vessel that had taken the boat in tow,) remained there during the day, and at night got under way, and ran for Key West, where she arrived next day. Walker was taken before a magistrate, and required to give bail in 1,000 dollars. Not being able to do it, he was taken to jail. The passengers were put on board the sloop *Reform*, and sent to Pensacola.

"Here I will remark, that Walker was somewhat unwell two days before leaving Pensacola, and continued to grow worse for six or seven days after, so that he twice despaired of life, but his disease abated a little. But when taken by the sloop, and carried to Key West, he was so weak that

it took two men to support him from the wharf to the jail, which was but a short distance. He was kept in jail four days, and then put on board the steam boat *General Taylor*, (in the government service, doing nothing.) Here Walker received the most inhuman treatment. He was put down the hold, and had to lie among filth and rubbish, both hands and feet being in irons; and when the boat was under way, he was nearly suffocated with the steam. He was on board seven days, during which time she went to Pensacola. There he was taken from the steam-boat, and carried eight miles in a small boat, and rain-storm, to the city. On landing, he was met by a large concourse of men and boys. The street leading to the court-house was also thronged. Some threats and black-guardism were dealt out, but no violence used. He was taken to the court-house; court then being in session, his trunk and bundle were examined. Not finding anything in them as evidence, he was required to give bail in ten thousand dollars; and not being able to do it, was taken to jail, put in a room by himself, and a large chain, twelve or fourteen feet long, attached to his ankle by a shackle weighing five or six lbs., where he now remains.

"The court will sit the first Monday in November, when he will have his trial, if nothing previous takes place to prevent it. Although in a strange jail, the judge did not think it safe, without placing a guard over him, night and day, to prevent the violence of a mob!

"Walker lived in Pensacola from the year 1837 to 1842, and sustained a good character, (which, I hope, will be of service to him on his trial.) He was generally known to be anti-slavery. The punishments prescribed by the laws of the territory are, I am informed, fine, imprisonment, branding, and putting in the pillory! Mr. Walker is not allowed private correspondence."

In a letter to his "wife and children," which appears in the *Boston Morning Chronicle*, (the whole of which we would insert if we had room,) Mr. Walker uses the following touching language:—

"Jane! what is to become of you and the children? I have lost nearly what little I had in the fracas, and I am confident that you are needy at this time. You had better send and get the proceeds of that iron and spars which I sent to Fall River, and do as well as you can. Write me as soon as you get this, that I may know how it is.

"The Lord Jesus has been abundantly good to me through all my afflictions thus far, and I feel and trust that his Spirit will accompany me through—for I cannot let him go. Should I be taken away to-day, I feel that all will be well beyond the grave. My confidence is strong in Him, for he has purchased redemption by his blood for such vile sinners as me.

"Dear wife and children, trust to Jesus for help. If you do in earnest, he will prove your best friend here and hereafter. Get your information from the New Testament, and do not trust in flesh.

"O my dear old parents, don't worry about me, for I am in good spirits, and shall weather the storm.

(Signed) "JONA. WALKER."

TRINIDAD ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Trinidad Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society convened a public meeting in Greyfriars Church, Port of Spain, on the evening of the 1st of Aug. to celebrate the anniversary of freedom. The meeting was numerous and noisy beyond precedent. The *plautoeracy* mustered in great strength, and gave plain indications that the spirit of past times possesses them still. The Rev. Mr. Kennedy was called to the chair. Mr. Anderson, the secretary read the report, the adoption of which was moved by Mr. Scotland, and seconded by Mr. Clunes. The Rev. Mr. Cowen moved, and Mr. Fitzwilliam supported the second resolution, viz.:—

"That this meeting regrets that the British Government should have reduced the duty on foreign sugars without making a proportional reduction on sugars produced in her own colonies, the more especially as there is every reason to fear that slave-grown sugars will find their way into the British market by a circuitous route."

This resolution was unanimously approved of.

Mr. Hinde proposed the third resolution, viz.:—

"That this meeting deprecates the proposed immigration loan of 200,000*l.*, on the credit of the colony, for the following reasons:—1st. The financial condition and prospects of the colony do not warrant such a step. 2nd. The measure is characterised by infatuation, to say the least of it, as the price of labour has been or is being reduced two-fifths, thus destroying the only argument that can be successfully employed to induce labourers to emigrate to this island. 3rd. It will be compelling the labourers already in the colony to pay for a further reduction of wages. 4th. Immigration to the extent contemplated and in the time specified would be productive of a fearful amount of physical and moral evil, as no arrangements are likely (from past experience) to be made for their accommodation and protection."

During Mr. Hinde's address great uproar was created by those desirous of a forced and redundant immigration; and to such a number had they and their lackeys assembled on the occasion, that when the resolution was put to the vote they claimed a majority for its rejection. From the density of the crowd and the ungovernable excitement that prevailed, it was impossible to decide with any degree of accuracy how the vote stood. Order being restored, Mr. Anderson proposed the fourth resolution, viz.:—

"That this meeting condemns the shutting up of Crown lands from the vast majority of the people.* Forcing immigration under the present restrictions regarding Crown lands will result in the certain and increasing poverty of the people, owing to the limited extent of private property in the island."

The home truths taught in this resolution were exceedingly unpalatable to many present. When the vote was taken—approve or disapprove, it did appear that the disapprovals constituted the majority. The committee regret that, in this case, selfishness triumphed over truth and justice; but, as the meeting had the appearance of being packed by the enemies of freedom, the result was not unexpected or wonderful. They have the happiness of knowing that liberal principles are making rapid strides in this beautiful, fertile, and important colony.—*From a Correspondent.*

* Not less than 320 acres can be purchased. This law amounts (as intended) to an actual prohibition as regards the middle classes.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN BRITISH GUIANA.

The Auxiliary in this colony to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society held its Annual Meeting on the 1st of August, at George-Town, Demerara. From the Report presented on that occasion we give the following extracts:—

The past has been an eventful year; wearing, in some respects, a sombre aspect, as relates to the general abolition cause. This observation embraces not only the shameful attempts of the American Government to incorporate Texas with the Union, for the purpose of affording facilities to their domestic trafficking in slaves; the open inhumanity and disgusting licentiousness of the Southern States, as developed in the condemnation of John L. Brown, and the subsequent exposure of that individual by the judge who condemned him; the fearful violence with which the slave-trade from Africa is still carried on, as evinced by the captures which have been reported; and other occurrences of a distressing character in the free republic of Hayti, and in that island of appalling and cruel bondage, the island of Cuba;—but also the more remarkable advocacy of the cause of the man-stealer and the slave-master of Cuba and Brazil, on the part of some of our former anti-slavery friends; and though last, not least, (because more immediately affecting our own condition as an emancipated people,) the disgraceful attempt of our colonial legislature to burden the whole community with a half-million loan, for the purpose of inundating the country with immigrants, after the manner of the infatuated Mauritius.

These latter, as appearing to threaten disastrous consequences, immediate and remote, have called forth the active exertions of your Committee, if possible, to avert them.

Surprised by the approving announcement in the government *Gazette*, of the Combined Court's having introduced (without previous notice) the two notorious measures of the Civil List Prolongation Bill, and the Half-Million Loan Bill; and especially by the *Guiana Times* of the following day chronicling, without remark, the astounding fact of the twin bills having been read the second and third time, and passed; we were irresistibly aroused into action, being convinced that unless something were immediately done to counteract this precipitate legislation, our liberties, civil and sacred, would be demolished at a stroke, and the whole community delivered over to the tender mercies of the avaricious, and to the cruelties of civil and ecclesiastical despotism; rendered unendurable by the oppressive and persecuting power of legislative enactments.

The stillness of the unofficial paper (which, we supposed, would have been indignant, had it not approved of the measures) increased our alarm. This combination of circumstances led to the prompt issue of the *Congregational Record and Christian Philanthropist*—the immediate object of which was to call the special attention of our friends in England to the critical state of affairs; and further to direct public attention to the principles of New Testament liberty, as contrasted with national church establishments, which, in the judgment of Congregational Dissenters, lie at the base of all the ills that afflict the community.

The Committee was summoned to meet, to consider the matter. The result was, that certain resolutions were forwarded to the noble Secretary of State for the Colonies, through his Excellency the Governor; and copies to the Parent Society in London, with an earnest request that they would seek an interview with Lord Stanley on the subject. This they sought with a promptitude which has our thankful acknowledgment, by a memorial which deserves a grateful record, and with an efficiency which cannot be mistaken: inasmuch, that the Colonial Minister has, in his place in Parliament, denounced the indecent haste with which the measures were carried through the Court; asserted that he cannot approve of them at present; and waits the expression of public opinion in Guiana, before giving any decision, in answer to the inquiries which have been twice put to his Lordship in the Imperial Legislature.

The reply of Lord Stanley to the Committee in London—"that there was no necessity to trouble them with an interview, as he had received the documents from Governor Light, to which he would give his best attention"—induces the belief that, while the evidence of clandestine injustice, which was sought to be perpetrated here, was undeniable; yet, annoyance was felt by his Lordship, possibly occasioned by his Lordship's acquaintance with Governor Light's accompanying despatches, the tenor of which may be sufficiently gathered from the reply of his Excellency to the Secretary of your Auxiliary on forwarding the Resolutions of the 29th of April.

These circumstances, combined with the prevailing feeling that the bills were so barefaced that no government would allow them; that therefore it would be unnecessary to petition; and the wiser policy of the aristocracy in getting up petitions numerously signed in favour of the bills,—induces strong fears in the minds of your Committee as to the result. The importance attached to petitioning by Lord Stanley, shows the folly of practical indifference, and the ease with which the active few might for ever destroy the liberties of the too-confiding multitude.

Three redeeming facts inspire a contrary hope. First—the evident sense that the bills were clandestinely introduced and passed. Second—that at least three petitions or memorials, signed in behalf of many thousands of the labouring population, have, ere this, reached his Lordship. And third—the general exposure of the atrocity of the whole transaction, against which your committee have taken so prominent a part.

Another question of moment has also engaged the attention of your committee.

The sugar question, as at present agitated, involves important interests, the extent of which cannot, as yet, perhaps, be fully perceived. Your committee have meddled with it only in two respects, namely:—The inconsistent advocacy of the principles of slavery, which it has involved, on the part of professed abolitionists; and the imminent peril to which it exposed the Parent Society to give countenance to a free trade in slave produce:—and the consequent abandonment of the original constitution of the Society, which also they had been moved to consider.

The first of these we at once lament and abhor, as distinctly and unequivocally as they (the advocates for slave sugar) themselves once professed to abhor the practice of the men whose abominations they now encourage and uphold.

The second, your committee are glad to report, has been successfully opposed by a large majority of the *bond fide* members of the Society.

There is one point, however, in which we respectfully differ from the Parent Society; not in an abstract principle, but in the indiscriminating application of it. The principle is good, that all free-grown produce of foreign nations should be encouraged, as an inducement to abandon compulsory labour. But, we respectfully submit that the free of foreign nations will acknowledge that to be wisdom and justice which protects from wanton injury those interests which might be affected by an unlimited introduction of their commodities. Perfection itself does not require that we should love our neighbour *better* than ourselves; which would be the case if the productions of others were admitted to the unlimited injury of our own. It would be practical inequality, which even those affect to repudiate who plead for free-trade in slave sugar.

That is not free which oppresses another. It is libertinism, rather than freedom. That is not free trade which compels a neighbour to work without wages—which offers, in barter, that which is stolen. That is not worthy the name of *free* trade which purchases ill-gotten commodities on the score of getting them cheaper, by reason of their unjust possessors having obtained them by dishonesty. It is a sort of freedom that benefits one person or community, by injuring and distressing another. Now, if such would result from the admission of the free sugar of other countries on equal terms with the produce of our own free colonies, can that be fair, however freely it may be done?

Give that measure of liberty to free trade that will benefit a neighbour, a stranger, a foreigner, without destroying ourselves in granting it; and we shall be in a capacity to do many another generous act, and be blessed in doing it. But, disable ourselves by prodigality in our favours, and we shall not barely deserve no thanks for our pains—but, with merited rebuke for want of wise "fiscal" limitations, we are rendered incapable of either relieving others, or of obtaining relief ourselves.

That part of the question which apprehends the advantage which traffickers in slaves will take, by contrivance and by stratagem, to introduce slave sugar for free, when a fair advantage is given to free-grown produce, your committee considers unworthy to be entertained by a noble-minded philanthropy, beyond the exercise of that due precaution with which wise measures are usually accompanied for the prevention of abuse. After you have spent your revenue on police and magistrates, the propensity and cunning of the thief will often prove more than a match for you. You will not, therefore, retrench the liberties of the upright citizen, but rather exercise the greater vigilance, and combine the wisdom of experience with the stringency of your laws. But the "law is not made for a righteous man."

In every other respect your committee regard the Parent Society as worthy of your highest confidence and grateful support. Your committee are glad to report the prospect of pecuniary assistance in furtherance of the Society's objects, by means of associations to this Auxiliary, which it will be their duty to encourage in every part of the province.

The Millmount Association, of which Mr. J. Berkley is secretary, has handed to your treasurer their first donation of 26 dollars; and your committee hope that the gratitude of the emancipated will be made manifest in a speedy remittance, to the Parent Society, of a sum worthy of those who enjoy, by the mercy of God, the blessings of freedom. The sum of 80 dollars was remitted about two months since.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—Extract of a letter addressed to Joseph Sturge, dated, August 6th, 1844:—"While I think the alteration in the sugar duties will affect the people in some degree, by leading to the withdrawal of capital from the colony, and the giving up of estates, that is no reason why it should not be made ultimately useful. I am persuaded it will tend to their benefit. I do, however, sincerely trust, not for the sake of Jamaica or of the emancipated, but for the sake of the slaves of Africa, that slave-grown sugar will be kept out of the market. Not that I fear competition in the long run, had we but a prudent resident proprietary, and an economical local government; with those improvements which science is making in agriculture, there can be no doubt that we could successfully compete with the slave-holder in the production of sugar; but until these changes take place, they would drive us out of the market."

"As regards the actual cost of the cultivation and the manufacture of sugar, I am more than convinced that the great principle contended for by abolitionists is true, that free-labour is as cheap, or cheaper, than slave-labour: and were it not that we have an absentee proprietary, wasteful management, an enormous load of taxation, and heavy freightage far beyond that of slave colonies, we could supply sugar at as low a rate as any of them. I have a document before me published by the Clarendon Agricultural Society, showing that, on Denbigh estate, 145 hhd. 9 qrs. of sugar, weighing 140 tons, 9 cwt., and 3,833 gallons of rum, were made at a cost of 1,338l. 2s. 5d., (inclusive of domestics, building, tradesmen, buying coppers, &c.) being at the rate of 9-6½ per cwt. for the sugar. On Halse Hall estate, 154 hhd., weighing 155 tons, 5 cwt., 3 qrs., and 6,613 gallons of rum, were made; total expenditure, (inclusive of tradesmen, domestics, and poundage,) 1,384l. 1s., being 8-10½ per cwt. for the sugar; leaving the rum, I presume, to meet the expenses of management and taxation. I scarcely think that sugar can be produced at a lower cost than this (less than one penny per pound) in slave colonies."

Extract of a letter to Joseph Sturge, dated Kingston, May 8th, 1841.—"I pray you to keep our anti-slavery friends alive about Cuban matters. The monsters in that island have really hundreds of black men, British subjects, in slavery. I have by me legal evidence of the fact. There is no difficulty in discovering the locations of the poor men, and it is impossible to hide the fact."

Extract of a letter addressed to Joseph Sturge, dated Kingston, June 22nd, 1844.—"Our friend — goes home by this packet. He will tell you how bad our case is; but the whole is premature. God has seen meet to humble all classes by withholding the usual rains from certain districts. There is a great change in the tone of public sentiment. We are, indeed, in the midst of that purifying revolutionary process that all societies need from time to time. Happily ours has hitherto been bloodless. The old proprietors must either come out, or yield their properties to

purchasers or lessees. Agriculture is improving rapidly, and the rate of expense, of course, proportionally decreasing. Properties that under the old system have been yielding only loss, are applied for by lessees willing to pay tolerable rents. An economical system is thus very rapidly introduced. To support it we need only some better facilities for procuring to such parties the small pecuniary accommodation they need from crop to crop. Were there a few mercantile houses willing to maintain relations with these new hands, it would make a great impression on our prospects. It is that support mainly that we need. We have well laid out estates, buildings, machinery, &c., which I feel assured would more than enable us to compete successfully with the poor Siamese or Chinamen. I am truly gratified to observe that yourself and others of the tried friends of freedom have resisted the sophistries by which the friends of free trade would have sought to displace you. We are great free trade people here; but we think that is no free trade which would entertain for a moment the proceeds of a system of open crime carried on in the face of subsisting national treaties, as well as of the principles for which our Government has expended so many millions. Give us a place in a fair field of competition, and we shall not be afraid; but call us not into competition with these slave-traders. The black people here are rousing themselves, and they see that the whites are suffering, and that both must suffer, and that their cause is a common one. We shall be a prosperous people, if we get the aid which our change of circumstances needs, the support of a small and well-directed capital, distributed wisely through the medium of either banking or mercantile houses. I trust the English capitalists will not continue to do as they have been doing, frowning upon all applications for loans or accommodation. What is to become of our estates and sugar manufactories if they do? Believe me, it is mainly well-directed capital that we need, to foster the new system that is growing out of the ruins of the old one."

MARRIED, on the 1st of August, at the parish church of St. Andrew's, Jamaica, David Turnbull, Esq., H.M. Judge of the Court of Mixed Commission, to Alice, daughter of the late John Musson, Esq., of Paynter Vale, Bermuda. The ceremony was performed by the Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Jamaica, brother-in-law to the bride.

BARBADOS.—THE ELECTIONS.—The Attorney-General and Mr. Prescod have been returned as members of the next House of Assembly for Bridgetown, by an equal number of votes, 184; Mr. Crumpton, the unsuccessful candidate, having only 118. The excitement is stated to have been very great.—*Barbados Mercury*.

ST. LUCIA.—The census of this island had been taken and the returns published; number of inhabitants, 21,001.—*Jamaica Times*.

TRINIDAD.—By arrivals yesterday from Trinidad, we learn from passengers and private letters that a great many of the immigrants who were enticed to go to that charnel-house under false promises, are in a deplorable state, begging about the streets and wandering about the country, destitute and friendless. Two batches returned here during the week, and many others are expected.—*Guiana Gazette*.

We have learned with much regret that the sounds of discord have been heard, and that the labourers and their employers are disunited in some places; that, in fact, many of the labourers have struck work, and have given indication of a combined resistance to the present proposals of their employers.—*Standard*. [The proposal rejected is to lower wages two-fifths.—*Ed. A. S. Reporter*.]

BRITISH GUIANA.—Extract of a letter to Mr. Scoble, dated New Amsterdam, August 15, 1844:—"I feel confident as to the truth of the following positions: 1st, that immigration from the east is not wanted, will not realise the expectations of its promoters, and will be productive of untold evils; 2ndly, that the people's wages are at present a mere pittance, when the expensiveness of the place through over-taxation is considered; 3rdly, that by more economical management, and a different treatment of the present race of labourers, sugar might here be produced so as to compete even with slave produce."

THE LOAN ORDINANCE.—With regard to our own Loan Bill, the general feeling, we believe, in this colony is, that it is not likely any more than the Civil List Ordinance, enacted at the same time, of being confirmed by her Majesty's Ministers. The occasional expressions, and if we may so term them, hints, thrown out by Lord Stanley in the House of Commons, when questioned by Mr. Hawes and others, appear to give some strength to this impression. The disappointment, however, occasioned by his lordship's parliamentary declarations has been much allayed, if not wholly removed, by the semi-official assurance, of which we have lately been made aware, that it is the intention of the ministry to sanction a general loan of a million and a half to the West Indies, for their assistance in the matter of immigration.—*Royal Gazette*.

Foreign Intelligence.

THE UNITED STATES DEALING IN SLAVES.—Our readers will recollect the case of six slaves who took a pilot boat at New Orleans, and endeavoured to make their escape. A United States vessel arrested them. They were carried into St. Augustine, libelled, and sold for salvage, by direction of the U. S. marshal, at 2,300 dollars. We should like to know where a United States officer gets power to sell human beings as property?—*Cincinnati Herald*.

The *St. Augustine Herald* adds—The U. S. revenue schooner, *Vigilant* arrived here on Saturday last from St. Marks, via Key West. The *Vigilant* brings a demand from the governor of Louisiana for the eight negroes who ran away from the *Balize*, and were wrecked on the Tortugas Reef. Six of these negroes were sold on Tuesday last, by the marshal. Considerable interest is excited on the subject. Several novel questions are presented, as to the effect of the demand of the governor of Louisiana, and the probabilities of indemnity to the purchaser. The cause of lawful liberty will lose nothing by this litigation.

The schooner *Franklin*, Captain Simpson, arrived at Philadelphia on Thursday afternoon, from Newbern, N. C., having on board 21 negroes—11 females and 10 males, emancipated by executors, by the will of Joseph Physic, Esq., deceased, of that place.—*Essex Transcript*.

CUBA.—THE CROP.—Accounts from Havana to August 3 state, that the exports of sugar from Cuba, up to the end of July, were 702,647 boxes, against 511,400 for the same period last year. Of this quantity, 171,259 boxes have been shipped to the United States. The crop of sugar at present on the ground in Cuba is expected to be both deficient and late. The canes were reckoned fully six weeks behind-hand.—*Colonial Gazette*.

THE REVOLT.—A gentleman recently arrived from Havana states, that he had it from undoubted authority that one thousand slaves have been recently flogged to death in the neighbourhood of Havana, because they would not swear to facts touching the insurrection of which they knew nothing.

The Key West Light of the Reef states that on the 5th inst. two Americans and five negroes were hung in Havana for being implicated in the recent slave revolt.

BRAZIL.—SLAVE-TRADE.—Extract of a letter from Rio de Janeiro, dated April 18, 1844:—"The slave-trade unhappily continues to be carried on to a dreadful extent, and numerous cargoes of wretched beings are constantly landed at Campos and Macahé. On the 2nd of last month the American schooner *Agnes* arrived at this place from Liverpool, consigned to Manoel Pinto de Fonseca, a notorious slave-dealer here. Her cargo consisted of British manufactured goods adapted for Africa, and she sailed for that quarter two days after her arrival at this port."

THE RUMOURED TREATY WITH ENGLAND.—Letters have been received from Pernambuco, by the *Priscilla*, to the 12th of August, which repeat the rumours received, both from Bahia and Rio, that a new commercial treaty between England and Brazil was about to be concluded, and that the packet (which is now very much behind her time) is detained in order to bring it. Surprising and unexpected as this intelligence is, it comes from so many quarters that it is just possible that there may be some truth in it; though, after the position taken by our Government with regard to slavery and the slave-trade, it is difficult to conceive how a treaty can have been concluded by the present ministry with a country in which both those evils are so deeply rooted. Still, where there is a will there is generally a way; and as it was evident, in the course of last session, especially from some of Mr. Gladstone's speeches, that ministers were anything but satisfied with their own policy with regard to slave-grown sugar, and as it is even still better known that the Brazilian Government has the strongest financial reasons for desiring such an arrangement with England as will improve its position in the money market, it is not impossible that the basis of a new treaty may have been arranged by mutual concession. The terms of this treaty (supposing it to exist) are unknown, but to render it valuable it must include the admission of British goods into Brazil, and of Brazilian sugar and coffee into England, on moderate terms. Any treaty that does not effect both these objects will be of little value, and the extent of the value of the treaty which is said to have been just concluded will altogether depend on the completeness with which these objects are effected.—*Liverpool Times*.

PRUSSIA AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.—The *Presse* states, that in consequence of a convention concluded between the five great Powers on the 20th of December, 1841, for the suppression of the slave-trade, the Prussian Government has published an ordinance, by virtue of which the captain, supercargo, and the first pilot of every ship, convicted of having been engaged in the slave-trade, are condemned to hard labour for a period varying from five to twenty years. The same punishment will be inflicted on the owner, the insurer, or on any person advancing funds knowing the destination of the vessel. The crew are to be liable to an imprisonment of from six months to five years, if it be proved that their operation in this trade has been voluntary.

Miscellanea.

ESCAPE FROM SLAVERY.—On Thursday last arrived in Falmouth harbour the *Lord Bruce* brig, Capt. Poole, with a cargo of sugar, from Pernambuco. A few mornings after the *Lord Bruce* left Pernambuco, a very fine Bongo black lad, about eighteen or twenty years of age, made his appearance on deck, to the no small surprise of the captain and crew of the *Lord Bruce*. He is not able to speak a single word of English, but talks the Portuguese language tolerably well, from which we learn that he was a slave, and had been brought to the Brazils in a slaver, from a far distant country. It appears he, with many other slaves, had been sent off to the *Lord Bruce* with barges of sugar, and again returned on shore, and the night previous to the sailing of the vessel, he stole a craft peculiar to the South Americans, called a catamaran, taking with him a tolerable stock of provisions, and some very good clothes, and came on board, and stowed himself away, unobserved, amongst the cargo, and did not make his appearance until he knew the vessel was so far at sea that there was no chance of his being sent back; thus effecting his escape from slavery. The captain treated him with every possible kindness, but, as the poor fellow seems rather unfit for the sea, he will be thrown on the parish of Falmouth, until some means can be adopted to get him to provide for himself.—*Devonport Independent*.

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